SPEECH

DELIVERED

AT A CONFERENCE

with the LORDS, *January*

XXV. MDCXLI.

By occasion of the Petitions from the City of *London*, and the Counties of *Middlesex*, *Essex*, and *Hertford*.

By JOHN PYM, *Esquire*.

Published by Order of the House *of* Commons.

And enlarged in the end since the last Edition by the Author.

Whereunto are annexed two *Orders* of the said *House*.

The one containing the *Thanks* of the house, given to those of *Hertfordshire*.

The other, For punishing of those who printed a false Copie of that *Petition*, and other libellous *Pamphlets*.

LONDON,

Printed by *Edw. Griffin* for *John Rothwell*, and are to be sold at the Signe of the *Sun* in *Paul* Church-yard, 1641.

IANVART 25.

1641.

At a *Conference* betwixt both *Houſes*, concerning divers *Petitions* preſented to the *Houſe of Commons*; Maſter PYM appointed to manage that Conference.

My Lords,

I Am commanded by the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes aſſembled for the Commons in Parliament, to preſent to your Lordſhips divers Petitions, which they have received from ſeverall parts concerning the ſtate of the Kingdome: whereunto they are chiefly moved by that conſtant Affection, which they have alwayes expreſt, of maintaining a firme union and good correſpondence with your Lordſhips; wherein they have ever found much Advantage, and contentment; but never held it more important and neceſſary, then at this time, wherein the Wiſdome and Reſolution of Parliament, have as many great Dangers and Difficulties to paſſe through, as ever heretofore,

We are united in the publick truſt, which is derived from the Commonwealth in the common Duty and Obligation whereby God doth binde us to the diſcharge of that truſt: and the Commons deſire to impart to your Lordſhips whatſoever Information or intelligence, whatſoever Incouragement or Aſſiſtance they have received from thoſe ſeveral Countries, which they preſent, that ſo likewiſe we may be united in the ſame Intentions and endeavours of improving all to the ſervice of his Majeſty, & the common good of the Kingdome.

The Petitions which I am directed to communicate to your Lordſhips, are four: from London, Midleſex, Eſſex, and Hartfordſhire. We have received many more, but it would take up too much time, and be too great a trouble to peruſe all; and in theſe four, you may perceive the Effect and Senſe of all: Firſt, I am to deſire your Lordſhips to heare them read, and then I ſhall purſue my Inſtructions in propounding ſome Obſervations out of them.

TO

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To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses, of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition and Answer of the Major, Aldermen, and the rest of the Common-counsell of the City of London.

Sheweth,

THat the Committee of this honourable House upon Saturday the 12 of this instant January, sent a message to the Petitioners for the loane of one hundred thousand pounds, or of so much thereof as could conveniently be forthwith raised for levying of forces to suppresse the Rebels in Ireland, To which Message something was then answered, & a further answer in writing promised.

In performance whereof they humbly present the answer following, together with the reasons thereof, desiring that the same (being the best that for the present they are able to give) may favourably be accepted.

And they shall ever pray, &c.

The Answer.

THe Petitioners are duly and deepely sensible of the great miseries of their Brethren in Ireland, and of the imminent danger, not only of the totall losse of that Kingdome, but of the ruine of this also, if that of Ireland should (which God forbid) be lost. And as they have hitherto shewed themselves ready, even beyond their abilities to serve the King and Parliament; so shall they ever continue to the utmost of their power, with all cheerfulnesse and duty. But at the present they are compelled to repeat their former Answer, That they have no power to raise any summes by way of Tax for any forraigne use; and do further answer that they have no meanes to do it, otherwise then by the immediate personall Consent of every particular Lender, which they cannot hope to obtaine in regard of these obstructions following: Which the Petitioners humbly present, together with this their further answer, as the Reasons thereof.

1 That immediately before the Parliament and sithence divers great Sums for the service of the King & Kingdome have been already lent by the Citizens of London, besides 50000 l. for the supply of Ireland, in particular; a great part whereof some of the Lenders were compelled to borrow, and cannot to this day repay.

2 That such part of those monyes as are already due to the Citizens from the Parliament, and should have beene repayed out of the Polemoneyes and Subsidies, is not yet done, because there is not any considerable summe come in from the Countrey as was expected to satisfie the same.

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3. That the said 50000 l. lent for Ireland was hastened and speedily paid within neare about 2000 l. upon this ground then urged by the Parliament; that if it were forthwith lent, it might be of more use to preserve that Kingdome then the lone of 200000 l. could be, if deferred but six Weeks; yet no confiderable Forces are sent thither to this day. And we find that men will not be willing to lend any thing till they be assured that a good strength be sent thither with full Commission to relieve London Derry and other parts of that Kingdome.

4. The generall withholding of very great Summes of money from the Petitioners, and many others, which moneys have beene long due, not only from Chapmen & other debtors in England; but from very many in Ireland (who owe many hundred Thousands of Pounds to the Citizens of London) doth render divers persons of good Estates and credit hardly able to goe on with Trade; or to pay their debts and maintain their Charge.

5. The brotherly offer of Scotland to send 10000 men into Ireland, not yet so accepted as to produce any relieve to that bleeding Kingdome, while yet our Brethren are dayly massacred there, discourageth most men from lending any Money, were they never so able.

6. The not passing the Bil for pressing of soldiers here, whereby such forces as are requisit might be timely sent from hence into Ireland, puts many men into feares, that there may be some designe rather to lose that Kingdom and to consume this in the losing of Ireland, than to preserve either the one or the other; for that it cannot be conceived, that the Rebells (being grown so powerfull) will be suppressed by volunteires.

7. The slow issuing of Commissions to those who being in Ireland, or going thither, are willing to enter the field against the Rebells, disables them from doing any effectuall execution upon the enemy, unlesse in their owne defence; and so all the monies that have been, or may be sent thither, are exhausted to maintaine our forces to doe little or nothing worthy of them, rather then imployed to chastise the Rebells, and to reduce them to obedience, by meanes whereof the number and power of the Rebels are greatly encreased, divers Castles and Townes are by them taken, much Protestant blood is daily spilt, many thousand families destroyed, the malignant part of Papists and their adherents here are encouraged, and those Rebells so much inboldened, that they boast, they will extirpate the British Nation there, and then make England the seat of war.

8. The not disarming of Papists here in England, after many discoveries of their treacheries, and bloody designes upon the Parliament and Kingdome, the great decays of Fortifications, Blockhouses and other Sea-forts, the not manaing of them, nor furnishing them with Ordinance and Ammunition, the not placing all of them in such hands in whom the Parliament may confide, and the not settling this Kingdome in a posture of defence, in times of so many feares and jealousies of forreigne invasions and intestine conspiracies; the not removing the present Lieytenant of the Tower, and putting such a person into that place, as may be well approved by the Parliament, notwithstanding the earnest petitions exhibited to this honorable House for that purpose, which hath produced a forbearance to bring Bullion into the Tower in this time of scarcitie of monies; all which cannot but overthrow trading more and more, and make monies yet more scarce in the City and Kingdome.

9. The

9. The Kings Ships which ought to be a wall of defence to this Kingdome and a convay to the Merchants (for which Tonnage and Poundage was granted) are not fitted and imployed, as the present condition of this Kingdome and Ireland requires, but some of them for the conveying away of Delinquents, who durst not abide the test of the Parliament, to the great encouragement of the rest of malignant party here, who when their designes and themselves be detected, know how to escape the hand of Iustice through the abuse of a Royall conduct.

10. The not questioning those many thousands of unknowne persons, who are sheltered in Covengarden, and thereabouts, which doe not imploy themselves in any lawfull calling, and it's very probable, lye in a readinesse to adventure upon some desperate attempt, to the endangering of the welfare, peace and safety of the King's Majesty, Parliament and City.

11. The misunderstanding betweene the King and Parliament, the not vindicating the priviledges of Parliament, the not suppressing of Protections, the not punishing of Delinquents, and the not executing of all Priests and Iesuites, legally condemned, while others contrary to priviledge of Parliament have beene illegally (as the Petitioners conceive) charged with Treason, to the deterring of worthy Members from discharging their duties, and to the destroying of the very being of Parliaments, doe exceedingly fill the mindes of men well affected to the publike, with many feares and discouragements throughout the Kingdome, and so disable them from that cheerfull assistance which they would be glad to afford.

12. By meanes of the Premisses there is such decay of trading, and such scarcity of money (neither of which can be cured, till the former Evills be removed) as it is likely in very short time, to cast innumerable multitudes of poore Artificers into such a depth of poverty and extremitie, as may enforce them upon some dangerous and desperate attempts, not fit to be expressed; much lesse to be justified: which they leave to the wisdome of this House speedily to consider and prevent.

THese are the Evils under which the Petitioners doe exceedingly labour and languish, which they humbly conceive to have sprung from the imploying of ill affected persons in places of Trust and Honour in the State, and neere to the sacred person of his Majesty; and that those Evils are still continued by meanes of the Votes of Bishops and Popish Lords in the House of Peeres.

And now, that the Petitioners have faithfully represented the true Reasons which doe really enforce them to returne this answer, most of which have been formerly offered to this Honourable House in sundry Petitions, and that they have done all that in them lies (even beyond all presidents) to serve the King, Parliament and Kingdome; They humbly crave leave to protest before God and the High Court of Parliament, that if any further miseries befall their deare brethren in Ireland, or if any mischiefe shall breake in upon this Kingdome, to the endangering of disturbing thereof, it ought not to be imputed to the Petitioners, but only to such as shall endeavour to hinder the effectual & speedy cure of the evills before recited, or inso much disable and discourage the Petitioners from doing that which by this honourable House is desired of them.

The Copy of *Middlesex* Petition was never printed, and therefore not inserted.

To the Honourable the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons in the High Court of Parliament.

The humble Petition of the Knights, Gentlemen, Ministers, and other Inhabitants of the County of ESSEX.

Sheweth,

TO this Honourable House, that we are truly sensible of your great care and extraordinary endeavours to settle our Religion and peace, and daily blesse God Almighty, and the Kings Majesty, the Peeres, and this honourable Assembly for the same. And we doe further in all humilitie represent to your honourable consideration, that notwithstanding your abouudant care and industry, we doe still apprehend a great stop of Reformation in matters of Religion, and our selves together with you, and the whole Kingdome to be in great danger from the Papists, and other ill affected persons, who are every where very insolent, and ready to act the parts of those savage Blood-suckers in Ireland, if they be not speedily prevented; by meanes whereof our tradings, especially of clothing and farming, grow apace to so great a damp, as many thousands are like to come to sudden want: Nor can wee expect any redresse thereof, unlesse the Bishops and Popish Lords bee removed out of the House of Peeres.

Therefore we humbly pray, that you would earnestly mediate with his Majesty and the House of Peeres that our Brethren in Ireland may be speedily releeved; The Papists throughout this Kingdome may be disarmed, and the Kingdome be put into such a war-like posture, for defence, as may be for it's safety; And that the Bishops & Popish Lords who (as we conceive) have hindered the successe of your godly endeavours, may be excluded the House of Peeres; Not doubting, but that then our Petitions formerly presented to this House, will receive the more full and speedy answer.

And your Petitioners (resolving in all just and honourable wayes (according to our late Protestation) to assist you in your Rights and Priviledges with our estates and Lives against the enemies of God, the King and State; humbly pray, &c.

TO

To the Honourable, the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament.

The humble Petition of Knights, Gentlemen, Freeholders, and others, Inhabitants of the County of HERTFORD.

Sheweth,

THat this Church and Kingdome being by the Prelates, those multitudes of corrupt and scandalous Ministers (their Creatures) and the Popish partie, concurring with them on the one hand; and by wicked Counsellors, evill Ministers of State, and great swarmes of Projectors, and others ill affected to the peace of this Realme, on the other hand, brought to a sad, & almost desperate condition, and thereby the splendor of his Majesties Crowne and Dignity dangerously weakned and eclypsed. It pleased his Majesty, having respect to the Petitions of Nobles and people in that behalfe, to call this present Parliament, the only able meanes (under God) to reforme the many pressures and grievances of the Church and Kingdome, and to remove the causes thereof.

In which Parliament, to the honour of his Majestie, and comfort of his good Subjects, exemplary Justice hath been executed, Arbitrary Courts, Ship-mony, Monopolies, and other illegall Impositions removed, the shedding of much blood prevented, by the late union betweene the two Kingdomes of England and Scotland, and further hopes given us of perfecting what remaines by the happy continuance and much desired progresse of this Parliament.

And although that malignant party of Prelates and Papists, and their adherents (whose present standing, and the happy successe of this Parliament, as the Petitioners humbly conceive, are inconsistant) have by their manifold wicked practises and designes endeavoured to hinder all thorow reformation in Church and Common-wealth, to stifle in the birth and progresse all those good Bills, and other preparations made by this Honourable assembly for that purpose, and especially, for the reliefe of the Kingdome of Ireland, (the ruine whereof will endanger this Kingdome also) To stop the influence of his Majesties Royall favour in giving life thereto, to divide betweene his Majestie and this Honourable assembly, and to render you not onely contemptible, but also burthensome to the people; yet the Petitioners, and as they verily beleeve, all well affected to his Majestie, and the peace and prosperity of this Kingdome, have, and still shall continue an high and honourable esteeme of this worthy assembly

ſembly and of your great and unwearied endeavours, and doe with the utmoſt expreſſions of their thankfulneſſe acknowledge the ſame, and the progreſſe and perfecting thereof, to be of great conſequence, & deep neceſſitie to the peace and welfare of this Church and Kingdome, and ſuch as without which not onely a refluxe of the former calamities, but even utter ruine and deſolation, like that, being too long continued in ſadland much lamented Ireland, will apparently enſue.

From the ſenſe whereof, and of the great and unheard of breaches lately made upon the priviledges of Parliament, even to the endangering of the being thereof wherein you Petitioners and their Poſterity are much concerned. The Petitioners take upon them the humble boldneſſe to declare their readineſſe and great engagements according to their Proteſtation, to ſtand to, and defend to the utmoſt perill of their lives and Eſtates, the Kings Majeſty and high Court of Parliament, with all the power and Priviledges of the ſame, and all your Honourable proceedings for the common good, againſt all Popiſh and other malignant oppoſers, who endeavour, either by evill Counſell, ſecret Plots, or open force to hurt or prejudice the ſame, or to make diviſions betweene his Majeſty and the Parliament.

And the ſaid Petitioners humbly pray, that the Papiſts may bee fully diſarmed, the Lawes againſt them executed, the Kingdome, and eſpecially this County, according to their late Petition in that behalfe, put into a poſture of warre for their better defence; the forts and ſtrength of this Kingdome put into ſafe hands, which the Parliament may confide and truſt in; the priviledges of Parliament repaired and throughly vindicated, and that this Honourable aſſembly (as hath beene lately deſired of you by the Citizens of London) will bee a meanes unto his Majeſtie and Houſe of Peers, that life may be ſpeedily given to your good endeavours by their concurrence with you in taking away of the votes of Popiſh Lords and Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, the ſpeedy and ſtrong releife of Ireland, the further puniſhment of Delinquents the removall of the preſſures and grievances in Church and Common-wealth, and reforming of what is therein amiſſe.

For all which your Petitioners ſhall daily pray, &c.

DIE

The Petitions being read by foure ſeverall Members of the Houſe, Mr. *Pim* reaſſumed his Diſcourſe.

My Lords,

IN theſe foure Petitions you may hear the voice or rather the crie of all *England*, and you cannot wonder if the urgencie, the extremitie of the condition wherin we are, do produce ſome earneſtneſſe and vehemencie of expreſſion more then ordinarie; the Agonie, terror, and perplexitie in which the Kingdom labours, is univerſall, all parts are affected with it; and therefore in theſe, you may obſerve the groanes and miſerable complaints of all.

Divers reaſons may be given why thoſe diſeaſes which are Epidemicall are more dangerous then others: The Cauſe of ſuch diſeaſes is univerſall and ſupernall, not from an evill conſtitution, or evil diet, or any other accident: and ſuch cauſes work with more vigour and efficacie, then thoſe which are particular and inferior. 2. In ſuch diſeaſes there is a communicative qualitie, whereby the Malignitie of them is multiplied and enforced. 3. They have a converting, transforming power that turns other diſeaſes and evill affections of mens bodies into their own nature.

The common and epidemicall diſeaſe wherein this Commonwealth lies now gaſping hath a ſuperior and univerſall cauſe from the evil Counſels and deſignes of thoſe, who under his Majeſtie bear the greateſt ſway in Government. 2. It hath a contagious and infectious qualitie, whereby it is diffuſed and diſperſed through all parts of the Kingdom. 3. It is apt to take in the diſcontents, evil affections, and deſignes of particular perſons to increaſe and fortifie it ſelf.

I ſhall take occaſion from ſeverall Branches of thoſe Petitions which your Lordſhips have heard, to obſerve.

1. The variety of *Dangers* to which this Kingdom is now ſubject.

2. The manifold diſtempers which is the cauſe of thoſe dangers.

3. The Multiplicitie of thoſe evill Influences which are the Cauſes of that diſtemper.

The firſt danger is from enemies abroad; this may ſeem a cauſeleſſe

1. The variety of *Dangers*,

cauſeleſſe and impertinent obſervation at this time, ſeeing we are in peace with all Nations about us: But (my Lords) you may be pleaſed to conſider that the ſafety of the Kingdom ought not to depend upon the will and diſpoſition of our Neighbours, but upon our own ſtrength and Proviſion; Betwixt States there are often ſudden changes, from peace to warre, according to occaſion and advantage. All the States of Chriſtendome are now Arm'd, and we have no reaſon to beleeve but that thoſe of greateſt Power have an evill Eye upon us in reſpect of our Religion: And if their private Differences ſhould be compoſed, how dangerouſly, how ſpeedily might thoſe great Armies and other Preparations now readie, be applied to ſome Enterpriſe and Attempt againſt us? and if there were no other Cauſe, this were ſufficient to make us ſtand upon our Guard; but there are divers more eſpeciall ſymptomes of dangers of this kind.

We may perceive by ſeverall Advertiſements from abroad, that they did foreſee our dangers many Moneths before they broke out; they could foretell the Time and Manner of them, which is a clear Evidence, they held Intelligence with thoſe which were the Contrivers and workers of the preſent troubles.

We have many dangerous Traitors and Fugitives now in other parts, who can diſcover the weakneſſe and diſtemper of the Kingdom; who hold Intelligence with the ill-affected party here, and by all cunning and ſubtle practiſes endeavour to incite and provoke other Princes againſt us.

Some of the Miniſters of our neighbour Princes may be juſtly ſuſpected to have had a more immediate hand and operation in the Inſurrection and Rebellion of *Ireland*, many of the Commanders and moſt of the Souldiers levied for the ſervice of *Spain* are now joyned with the Rebels there: and thoſe *Iriſh* Friars, which were imployed by the Spaniſh Ambaſſadour for the making of thoſe Levies, are known to have been chief Incendiaries to this Rebellion, and are ſtill very active in the proſecution and incouragement of it.

The Rebels have a ready and ſpeedie ſupply from ſome of our Neighbours. Two Convoyes of Munition and Armes we are certainly informed of: one from *Dunkirk*; the other, from *Nantes* in *Britany*: and certainly thoſe that are ſo forward to enable others to hurt us, will not forbear to hurt us themſelves, aſſoon as they ſhall haye means and opportunitie to do it.

Another

Another danger is from the Papists and ill-affected Parties home. The Papists here, are acted by the same Principles, with those in *Ireland*; many of the most active of them have lately been there; which argues an intercourse and communication of Councels. They have still store of Armes and Munition at their disposing, notwithstanding all our endeavours to disarm them; they have a free resort to the Citie and to the Court, they want no opportunities to consult together; they have the same or greater Incouragements from above, and from about them, then ever, in respect of the example and successe of the Rebels in *Ireland*, and the great confusions and divisions which by their cunning and subtile practises, are raised and fomented amongst our selves at home.

3. A third Danger is of Tumults and Insurrections of the meaner sort of people: by reason of their ill vent of Cloth and other Manufactures, whereby great multitudes are set on work, who live for the most part their daily gettings, and will in a very short time be brought to great extremitie, if not imployed; Nothing is more sharp and pressing then necessitie and want; what they cannot buy they will take, and from them the like necessitie will quickly be derived to the Farmours and Husbandmen; and so, grow higher, and involve all in an equalitie of miserie and distresse, if it be not prevented. And at this time such Tumults will be dangerous, because the Kingdom is full of disbanded Souldiers and Officers which will be ready to head and to animate the Multitude to commit violence with more strength and advantage: and if they once grow into a Body, it will be much more difficult to reduce them into order again, because necessitie and want, which are the Causes of this disturbance, will still increase as the effects do increase.

A fourth Danger is from the Rebels in *Ireland*, not onely in respect of that Kingdom, but in respect of this. They have seized upon the Body of that Kingdom already, they abound in men of very able bodies, they increase in Armes and Munition, they have great hopes of supplies from abroad, of incouragement here, and are sure of good intertainment from the Popish party, so that they begin to speak already of the transporting themselves hither, and making this Kingdom the seat of the warre.

2 The *distemper* procuring the former Dangers.

The Distemper which hath produced these Dangers is various and exceeding violent. Whensoever nature is hindred in her

proper operations and faculties, distempers will necessarily follow.

The obstructions which have brought us into this distemper, are very many, so that we cannot wonder at the strength and malignity of it. Some of the chiefest of these obstructions, I shall endeavour to remember.

1. The obstruction of Reformation in matters of Religion: no Grievances are sharper then those that presse upon the tender consciences of men; and there was never Church or State afflicted with more Grievances of this kind, then we have been. And though they are by the wisedom of this Parliament partly eased and diminished, yet many still remain: and as long as the Bishops and the corrupt part of the Clergie continue in their Power, there will be little hope of Freedome either from the fence of those which continue, or the fear of those which are removed. And of this obstruction, (my Lords) I must clear the Commons, we are in no part guiltie of it: some good Bils have past us, and others are in preparation, which might have been past before this, if we had not found such ill successe in the other. Whatsoever mischief this obstruction shall produce, we are free from it: we may have our part of the Miserie, we can have no part in the *guilt* or dishonour.

2. An obstruction in Trade, it is the Trade that brings food and nourishment to the Kingdom. It is that which preserves and increaseth the stock of the whole, and distributes a convenient Portion of maintenance to every part of it: therefore such an obstruction as this must needs be dangerous; the Freedome of Trades being so necessarie, the benefit so important, as that it gives life, strength, and beautie to the whole Bodie of the Common-wealth: but I must protest the House of Commons hath given no Cause to this Obstruction; we have eas'd Trade of many Burdens, and heavie Taxes which are taken off; we have freed it from many hard restraints by Pattents and Monopolies; we have been willing to part with our own Priviledges, to give it Incouragement; we have sought to put the Merchants into Securitie and confidence in respect of the Tower of *London*, that so they might be invited to bring in their Bullion to the Mint as heretofore they have done: and we are no way guiltie of the Troubles, the fears, and publique dangers which make men withdraw their Stocks, and to keep their money by them,

to

to be ready for ſuch ſudden Exigents, as in theſe great diſtracti-ons we have too much Cauſe to expect.

3. The obſtruction in the Reliefe of *Ireland*. It muſt needs be accompted a great Shame and diſhonour to this Kingdom, that our Neighbours have ſhewed themſelves more forward to ſup-ply the Rebells, then wee have been to relieve our diſtreſſed bre-thren and fellow-Subjects. But I muſt declare that wee are alto-gether innocent of any neglect herein. As ſoon as the firſt newes of the Rebellion came over, wee undertook the Warre, not by way of Supply and Ayde, as in former Rebellions the Subjects have uſed to do, but wee undertook the whole charge of it, and we ſuffered not 24 houres to paſſe, before wee agreed to a great Leavie of Money and Men, to be imployed againſt the Rebells, even in a larger proportion, then the Lord Juſtices and Councell there did deſire: and from time to time we have done all for the furtherance thereof, though in the midſt of many diſtractions and diverſions, but the want of Commiſſions for leavying Men, for iſſuing Armes, and divers other Impediments, have been the Cauſes of that obſtruction; and I wiſh wee had not onely found Impediments to our ſelves, but alſo Incouragements to them. Many of the chiefe Commanders, now in the Head of the Re-bells, after we had with your Lor^{ps} Concurrence ſtopt the Ports againſt all *Iriſh* Papiſts, have been ſuffered to paſſe by his Maje-ſties immediate Warrant, much to the diſcouragement of the Lord Juſtices and the Councell there; and, this procured, as wee beleeve, by ſome evill Inſtruments, too neere his Regall Perſon, without his Majeſties knowledge and intention.

4. The obſtruction in proſecution of Delinquents: many we have already brought up to your Lordſhips: divers others wee have been diſcouraged to tranſmit; ſuch difficult proceedings have we met withall; ſuch terrors and diſcountenance have been caſt upon our ſelves and our witneſſes; & thoſe who have ſhewed themſelves their friends and Patrons, have found it the moſt rea-dy way to preferment; yea, his Majeſties own hand hath been obtained, his Majeſties Ships imployed for the tranſporting of divers of thoſe who have fled from the Juſtice of the Parlia-ment.

5. A generall obſtruction and interruption of the proceedings of Parliament, by thoſe manifold deſignes of violence (which through Gods mercy wee have eſcaped;) by the great and fre-

quent breaches of Priviledge; by the ſubtile endeavours to raiſe parties in our Houſe, and jealouſies betwixt the two Houſes.

6: The obſtruction in providing for the Defence of the Kingdome, that we might be inabled to reſiſt a forraigne Enemy, to ſuppreſſe all Civill Inſurrections: and what a preſſing neceſſitie there is of this, the exceeding great decayes in the Navy, in the Forts, in the Power of ordering the *Militia* of the Kingdome, and Meanes of furniſhing them with Munition, are ſufficient evidences, knowne to none better then to your Lordſhips, and what endeavour wee have uſed to remove them (but hitherto without that ſucceſſe and concurrence which wee expected:) and where the ſtop hath been, and upon what good grounds we may claime our own innocency and faithfulneſſe in this, we deſire no other Witneſſes but your ſelves.

3. The *Influences* that have cauſed ſo great *Diſtemper.*

Laſtly, I come to the evill Influences which have cauſed this diſtemper, and I ſhall content my ſelfe to mention ſome few of thoſe which are moſt Apparant and Important.

1. In the firſt place, I ſhall remember the evill Councells about the King, whereof wee have often complained. Diſeaſes of the Braine are moſt dangerous, becauſe from thence Sence and Motion are derived to the whole Body. The malignitie of evill Councells will quickly be infuſed into all parts of the State. None can doubt but wee have exceedingly laboured under moſt dangerous and miſchievous Councells. This evill Influence hath been the cauſe of the preparation of Warre with *Scotland*, of the procuring a Rebellion in *Ireland*, of corrupting Religion, ſuppreſſing the Libertie of this Kingdome, and of many fearefull and horrid Attempts, to the ſubverting the very being of Parliament, which was the onely hopefull Meanes of oppoſing and preventing all the reſt: And this doth appeare to be a moſt predominant evill of the Time; whereat wee need not wonder, when we conſider how Councellours have been preferred and prepared. And I appeale to your Lordſhips owne Conſciences, whether the giving, and the countenancing of evill Councell, hath not been almoſt the onely way to favour and advancement.

2. The diſcouragement of good Councell: divers honeſt and approved Councellours have been put from their places: others ſo diſcountenanced, as that the way of favour hath been ſhut againſt them, and that of danger and deſtruction onely open to them.

3. The

3. The great Power that an intereſſed and factious partie hath in the Parliament, by the continuance of the Votes of the Biſhops and Popiſh Lords in your Lordſhips Houſe; and the taking in of others both out of the Houſe of Commons, and otherwiſe, to increaſe their ſtrength.

4. The fomenting and cheriſhing of a malignant partie throughout the whole Kingdome.

5. The manifold jealouſies betwixt the King, his Parliament, and good Subjects, whereby his protection and favour hath in a great meaſure been withheld from them: their inclination and reſolution to ſerve and aſſiſt him, hath been very much hindred and interrupted: We have often ſuffer'd under the miſ-interpretation of good Actions, and falſe imputation of evill, which we never intended. So that wee may juſtly purge our ſelves from all guilt of being Authors of this jealouſie and miſ-underſtanding: Wee have been, and are ſtill ready to ſerve his Majeſtie with our lives and fortunes, with as much cheerfulneſſe and earneſtneſſe of affection, as ever any Subjects were; and we doubt not but our proceedings will ſo manifeſt this, that we ſhall be as cleare in the apprehenſion of the world, as we are in the teſtimony of our own Conſciences.

I am now come to a Concluſion, and I have nothing to propound to your Lordſhips by way of Requeſt or deſire from the Houſe of Commons; I doubt not but your judgements will tell you, what is to be done; your Conſciences, your Honours, your Intereſts will call upon you for the doing of it; The Commons will be glad to have your helpe and concurrence in ſaving of the Kingdome; but if they ſhould faile of it, it ſhould not diſcourage them in doing their duſie. And whether the Kingdome be loſt or ſaved (as through Gods bleſſing I hope it will be) they ſhall be ſorry that the ſtory of this preſent Parliament ſhould tell Poſteritie, that in ſo great a Danger and Extremitie, the Houſe of Commons ſhould be inforced to ſave the Kingdome alone, and that the Houſe of Peeres ſhould have no part in the honour of the preſervation of it, you having ſo great an Intereſt in the good ſucceſſe of thoſe endeavours, in reſpect of your great Eſtates, and high degrees of Nobilitie.

My

MY Lords, conſider what the preſent neceſſities and dangers of the Common-wealth require, what the *Commons* have reaſon to expect, to what endeavours and counſels the concurrent deſires of all the people do invite you: ſo that applying your ſelves to the preſervation of the King and Kingdom, I may be bold to aſſure you in the name of all the *Commons* of *England*, that you ſhall be bravely ſeconded.

FINIS.

Die Martis 25. January. 1641.

IT is this day ordered by the Commons Houſe of Parliament, that M. Speaker, *in the name of the Houſe, ſhall give thanks unto* M. Pym *for his ſo well performing the ſervice he was imployed in by the Commons of this Houſe, at this Conference. And it is further ordered, that* M. Pym *be deſired to put the Speech he made at this Conference into writing, and to deliver it into the Houſe, to the end it may be printed.*

H. Elſynge, *Cler. Parl. D. Com.*

Two Orders of the Houſe of Commons.

Die Martis 25. *Ianuarii* 1641.

THe Houſe being informed that ſome Gentlemen of *Hertfordſhire* were at the doore to preſent a Petition to this Houſe, they were called in, and one in the name of the whole Countie preſent their Petition, which done they withdrew, and the Petition being read, they were againe called in, and Mr *Speaker* by Command of the Houſe told them, that the Houſe findes their Petition full of great expreſſions of their affections, to ſerve the King and the Common-wealth, full of care and zeale for a through reformation in the Church and Common-wealth; for which this Houſe gives them thankes, and as they have hitherto imployed their indeavours, ſo they will continue their care for the reforming the Grievances in the Church and Common-wealth; and for the other particulars expreſſed in your Petition, they will take it into Conſideration in due time.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. do: Com.

Die Martis 25. *Ianuarii* 1641.

MArtin *Eldred* of *Jeſus* Colledge in *Cambridge* being brought to the Barre, ſaith that he did not compoſe the Petition in the name of *Hertfordſhire* Petition, but one *Thomas Harbert* once of *Trinitie* Colledge did compoſe it, and that he was in the company of the ſaid *Thomas Harbert* when he compoſed it, and that it was compoſed at the ſigne of the *Antilope*, and afterwards ſold to *Iohn Greeneſmith* for halfe a Crowne.

Iohn Greeneſmith the Stationer was called in, and did confeſſe, that *Eldred* and *Harbert* brought the Petition unto him, and that one *Bernard Alſop* of *Grub-ſtreet* Printed it. He likewiſe confeſſes that he had printed ſundry Pamphlets of theſe mens compoſing, *viz.* Good Newes from *Ireland*, And bloudy Newes, And the *Cambridge* Petition; that he gave halfe a Crowne a piece for them. Reſolved upon the Queſtion.

That *Martin Eldred* ſhall be forthwith committed Priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, there to remaine during the pleaſure of the Houſe.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Thomas Harbert* ſhall be forthwith ſent for, as a Delinquent, by the Sergeant at Armes attending on this Houſe.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Iohn Greeneſmith* ſhall be forthwith committed Priſoner to the *Gate-Houſe*, there to remaine during the pleaſure of the Houſe.

Reſolved, &c.

That *Bernard Alſop*, Printer, ſhall be forthwith ſent for, as a Delinquent, by the Sergeant at Armes attending on this Houſe.

H. Elſinge Cler. Parl. do: Com.